

E 265
.S66

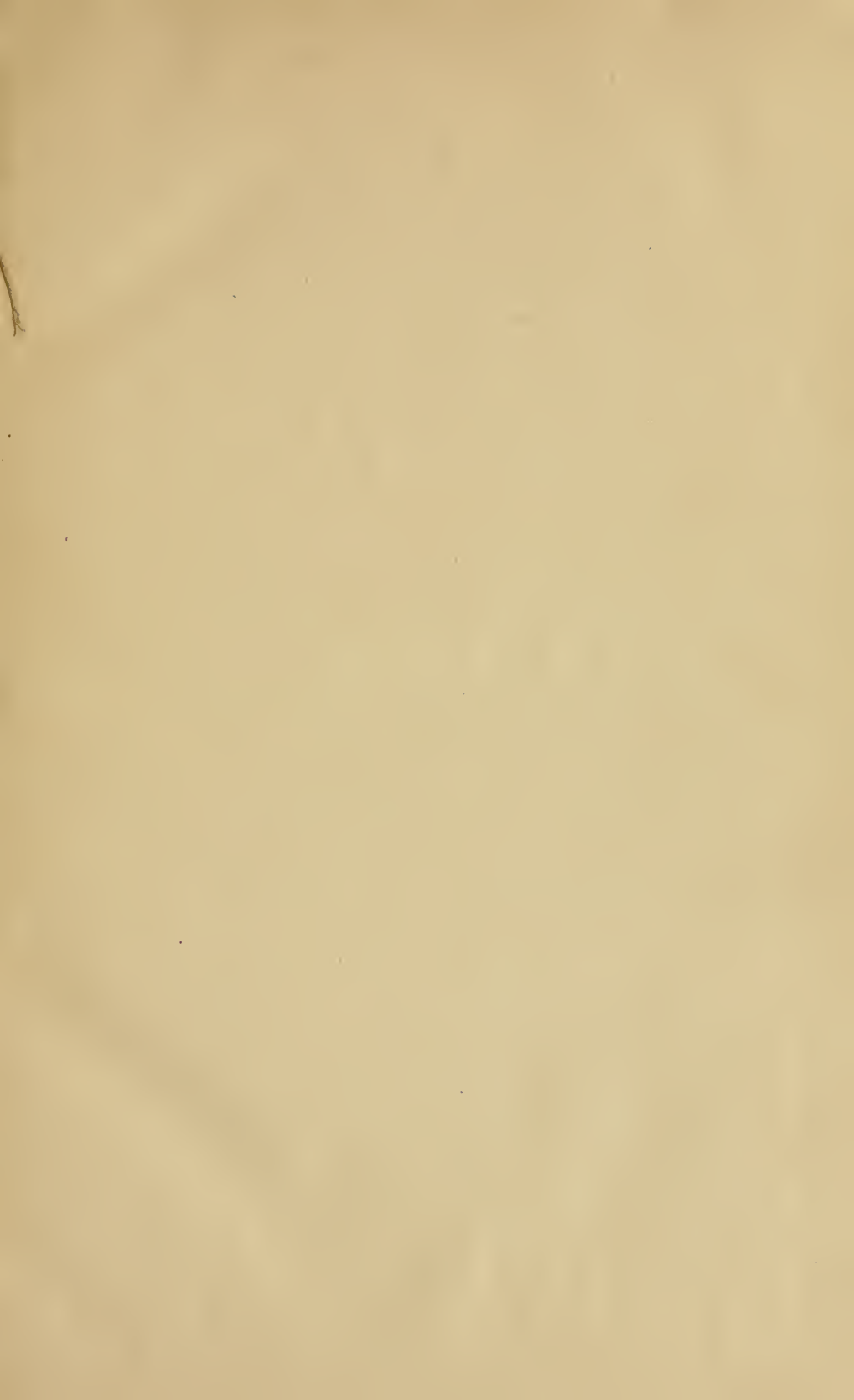


Class E 265

Book .S 66

Copyright N^o _____

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.

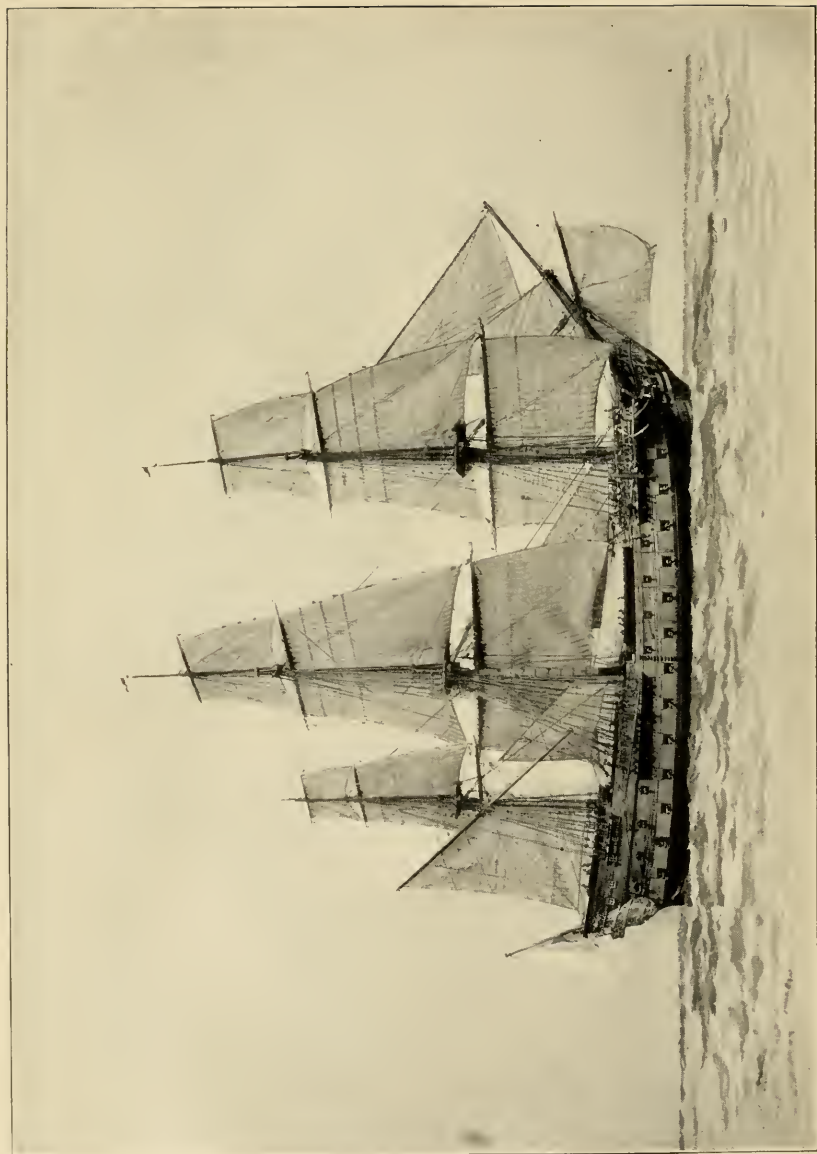






205

196



A FRENCH BATTLESHIP IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
(From a Model)

THE FRENCH

AT

BOSTON DURING THE REVOLUTION

WITH

PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH FLEETS AND
THE FORTIFICATIONS IN THE HARBOR

BY

FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.



BOSTON
PRIVATELY PRINTED
1913

E 265
.566

COPYRIGHT, 1913
FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.
BOSTON, MASS.



EIGHTY COPIES REPRINTED FROM THE
PUBLICATIONS OF THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY

JAN 12 1914



THE FRENCH AT BOSTON DURING THE REVOLUTION

With Particular Reference to the French Fleets and the Fortifications
in the Harbor

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER,
OLD STATE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 18, 1913, BY

FITZ-HENRY SMITH, Jr.

WITH ADDITIONS BY THE AUTHOR



FOR a number of years before any settlement was effected, adventurous men from the seaports of Western Europe made voyages to the coast of New England to fish and trade with the Indians. Among the first to embark in this enterprise were the French. Capt. John Smith in the account of his first voyage to New England, undertaken in 1614, mentions two French ships which "40 leagues to the westward of Monhegan" had made "a great voyage by trade." And when he reached Massachusetts Bay, Smith made no attempt to explore

it, notwithstanding that the region seemed to him the "Paradise" of all New England, because, as he says, the French had secured all the trade, "having remained there near five weeks." So he passed on to the southward.

A few years later a French ship was wrecked on Cape Cod, and those of her company that the natives did not kill outright were made prisoners. About the same time another French vessel anchored off Peddock's Island in Boston Harbor.* The fate of the crew of this vessel was even more tragic. The story is told by Phineas Pratt, in what is sometimes termed his "Narrative," as related to him by the Indian Pecksuot, and one cannot do better than to repeat Pratt's quaint version of the account given by the wily savage.†

Said Pecksuot : —

Another ship came into the bay with much goods to truck. Then I said to the sachem I will tell you how you shall have all for nothing. Bring all our canoes and all our beaver and a great many men but no bow nor arrow, clubs nor hatchets, but knives under the skins that [are] about our loins. Throw up much beaver upon their deck ; sell it very cheap and when I give the word, thrust your knives in the Frenchmen's

* The authority for this statement is Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* (Prince Soc. 1883), p. 130. And Morton says that the island was "called Peddocks Island in memory of Leonard Peddock that landed there."

† *A Declaration of the Affairs of the English People that First Inhabited New England*. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. (4th Ser.), IV : p. 479.

bellies. Thus we killed them all. But Monsieur Finch, master of their ship, being wounded, leaped into the hold. We bid him come up, but he would not. Then we cut their cable and the ship went ashore and lay upon her side and slept there. Finch came up and we killed him. Then our sachem divided their goods and fired their ship and it made a very great fire.

Such was the reception accorded the French visitor to Boston by the aborigines.* A short time thereafter a strange plague carried off almost the entire native population living on the islands in the harbor and in the neighboring country; and of the French we hear nothing more until after the founding of Boston. Meanwhile they were endeavoring to maintain the settlements they had established farther east.

In January of 1632 word was received at Boston "that the French had bought the Scottish plantation near Cape Sable." Whereupon the governor "called the assistants to Boston and the ministers and captains and some other chief men to advise what was fit to be done for our safety in regard they were like to prove ill neighbors (being Papists)."† It was agreed that a fort should be begun at Natascott (or Nantasket), as Hull was then called; and on the 21st of the month

* S. A. Drake in *The Making of New England* (p. 113) refers to the incident as "A Legend of Peddocks Island."

† *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, by John Winthrop (Savage's Ed. 1825), I: pp. 98, 99.

the Governor with four of the assistants, three ministers and other worthies of Boston, in all a company of about twenty-six, started down the harbor in three boats. They arrived at Hull towards evening, and, a storm coming up, were forced to spend the night there in a broken-down shanty with no covering over them other than the straw in which they lay. This experience seems to have put an end to what little enthusiasm they had for the project—for it was not anticipated that the fortification would prevent a vessel from entering the harbor—and in the morning, “upon a view of the place it was agreed that to build a fort there would be of too great charge and of little use.”

From this time on, and so long as the French remained in power, the attitude of the English colonists of Massachusetts to their northern neighbors, when not that of actual hostility—as during the cruel wars in which the two peoples became engaged—was, to say the least, one of suspicion. And that curious episode in the history of Massachusetts, when its rulers were induced to take sides with La Tour in his row with d’Aulnay, is probably not an exception. With the British masters of Canada, France ceased to menace the colonies. Frenchmen were then looked at in a different light, and upon the outbreak of the Revolution the whole American people turned to them for aid.

The French king was quite willing to assist the rebels of his enemy, but hesitated to do so openly until the

battle of Saratoga made it evident that there was a real opportunity to deal England a blow. Then he entered the contest as an ally of the colonies, and on April 13th, 1778, a splendid fleet of twelve ships of the line and five frigates (one of which was subsequently sent back with dispatches) set sail from Toulon for the Capes of the Delaware. The fleet was commanded by the Count d'Estaing and carried as passengers Gérard de Rayneval, the first ambassador of France to the United States, and Silas Deane, one of the American agents in Europe.

D'Estaing did not reach his destination until July 8th, and meanwhile a solitary French frigate, the *Nymphe*, on a "mission de surveillance" to the banks of Newfoundland, dropped anchor in Boston Harbor, where she remained a fortnight — from May 5th to May 19th.

This vessel, wrote her commander, the Chevalier de Sainneville, was "the first warship of the King of France that they had seen in Boston," and she was the cause of a great commotion. The authorities invited the Chevalier and his officers to a grand dinner, at which they remained seated for four hours and drank nine healths. When he went about, the Frenchman was followed by the townspeople "of all ranks and ages," eager to know of the intentions of France and pressing him with questions, which he said he answered as precisely as he could "but without saying anything." The flag of France flying in their midst, he declared, was looked upon by the inhabitants with the greatest satis-

faction, "the most interesting spectacle" the discreet captain "had ever enjoyed."*

In the so-called "Recollections of Samuel Breck,"† it is said :—

Before the Revolution the colonists had little or no communication with France, so that Frenchmen were known to them only through the prejudiced medium of England. Every vulgar story told by John Bull about Frenchmen living on salad and frogs was implicitly believed by Brother Jonathan, even by men of education and the first standing in society. When, therefore, the first French squadron arrived at Boston the whole town, most of whom had never seen a Frenchman, ran to the wharves to catch a peep at the gaunt, half-starved, *soup-maigre* crews. How much were my good townsmen astonished when they beheld plump, portly officers and strong, vigorous sailors!

The "Recollections" further state that while the townsmen became convinced that they had been deceived, they "knew" that the French "were no better than frog eaters, because they had been discovered hunting them in the noted Frog-pond at the bottom of the Common." Then follows an account of a dinner

* Quoted by Lacour-Gayet, "*La Marine Militaire de la France sous la règne de Louis XVI.*" (Paris, 1905), p. 147.

Price agrees that the frigate was "the first French Kings Ship ever in this port." (*Items From an Interleaved Boston Almanac for 1778, Being a Diary of Ezekiel Price.* N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. XIX, p. 332.) And he says that the dinner to the commander and his officers was held "at Marstons," May 9th. (*Ibid.*, p. 333.)

† H. E. Scudder Ed. (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 24.

given to d'Estaing and his officers by Mr. Nathaniel Tracy of Cambridge, at which in the soup plate of every Frenchman was placed a full-grown frog,—a story which surely lost nothing in the telling.

Breck was but seven years old at this time, and while his assertion doubtless contains much truth, it does not wholly account for the interest of the people on the arrival of the *Nymphé*, or of d'Estaing and his fleet.*

Much has been said about the extraordinary length of d'Estaing's voyage — almost three months — at least a third of which was required to get the fleet out of the Mediterranean. The commander complained of the great difference in the sailing qualities of his ships, referring especially to the slowness of the *Vaillant* and *Guerrier*.† The author of a modern French work‡ has explained that the fleet was short of seamen, so that inexperienced soldiers had to be employed to handle the ships. On the other hand it has been stated that d'Estaing wasted time in useless drills.§ But whatever the cause, the

* The *Boston Gazette* of May 11, 1778, says that the frigate brought "very important dispatches for Congress, which were immediately sent off by express to that august body."

† Chevalier, *Histoire de la Marine Française Pendant la Guerre de L'Indépendance Américaine* (Paris, 1877), p. 108. The *Guerrier* must not be confused with the ship of similar name defeated by the *Constitution* in the War of 1812. The *Guerrier* of d'Estaing's fleet was a seventy-four, whereas the *Constitution*'s opponent, though originally a French vessel, was a frigate of forty-nine guns.

‡ De Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique Pendant la Guerre de L'Indépendance des États-Unis*, (Paris, 1903), p. 33.

§ Cf. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power*, p. 359.

fleet took so long to cross the Atlantic that news of its coming reached America in season for the British to prepare to receive it. And this Howe did with commendable energy, abandoning Philadelphia and stationing his weaker force at New York in such a way that the task presented to the French was anything but easy. For learning that the enemy had moved, d'Estaing detached a frigate (*La Chimère*) to take Gérard to Philadelphia and proceeded with his fleet to Sandy Hook.

Then followed a series of unfortunate incidents familiar to all. The attack on New York was given up, because, it is said, the pilots hesitated at taking the larger French vessels into the harbor, and the fleet was dispatched to Narragansett Bay to assist General Sullivan in his operations against Rhode Island. Howe followed, and d'Estaing put to sea to meet him. The fleets manoeuvred for an advantage without a general engagement until on the night of the 11th of August there arose a violent gale which dispersed both. A number of the French ships were badly damaged,* and d'Estaing, despite the intervention of both Greene and Lafayette, declined to operate further, and assembling his ships as best he could, on August 23rd headed for

* D'Estaing's flagship, the *Languedoc*, was completely dismasted and lost her rudder, the *Marseillais* lost rudder and foremast, and the *Protecteur* was otherwise crippled. "So fierce was the storm," says Fiske, "that it was remembered in local tradition as lately as 1850 as 'the Great Storm.'" (*The American Revolution*, II: p. 93.)

Boston to refit. Only temporary repairs were made at Newport, and the French admiral said, on leaving, that if he found at Boston the material he so urgently needed, he would be ready to start anew to fight "for the glory of the French name and the interests of America." Nevertheless Sullivan felt that he had been left in the lurch, and he did not hesitate to say so, and much bitterness was engendered.

The American general was happily able to withdraw in safety from the difficult position in which he found himself, and the tendency of historians has been to sustain d'Estaing, as he seems to have been sustained by those in authority at the time. A council of his officers advised the course he took, and undoubtedly he was acting under explicit orders given him for just such an emergency.* Dr. Hale has shown that the destruction by the British of some twenty of their vessels when the French fleet appeared against Newport, taken into con-

* See Fiske, p. 94, and cf. Lacour-Gayet, p. 169. Sullivan wrote the Executive Council of Massachusetts to urge upon d'Estaing to return with at least a part of his fleet. The Count replied that he was ready to march at the head of his land forces and place them entirely under the American's directions. But he pointed out that it would scarcely be judicious for him to send back a part of his fleet, as Howe might beat it with superior numbers, and it was impossible to consider returning with the whole French fleet until the necessary repairs had been completed. The Council apparently agreed with this reasoning. (Mass. Archives, Doc. C. C., pp. 26, 29 and 32.) And in this connection I wish to express to Mr. Tracy and his assistants in the Archives my appreciation of their kind help and interest in my search for the material of this paper.

sideration with the other effects of d'Estaing's arrival on the American coast, made his exploits by no means inconsiderable.* But a view so dispassionate could not well be expected of the American people of 1778, and their disappointment over the abrupt termination of the Rhode Island campaign, from which so much had been anticipated, must be borne in mind when we come to consider events which afterwards took place in Boston.†

It is now time for us to take note of the vessels that put into Boston harbor and of some of the commanding officers in the fleet.

The vessels were the Languedoc of 90 guns; the Tonnant of 80; the seventy-fours, César, Hector, Zélé, Marseillais, Protecteur, and Guerrier; the Vaillant, Provence and Fantasque, sixty-fours; the Sagittaire, 50 guns, and the frigates Aimable, Alcène and Engageante of 26 or 30 guns each. The Languedoc was d'Estaing's flagship, except that when she was dismasted in the storm he went aboard the Hector, and on the arrival of the fleet in Boston he transferred his flag to the Zélé when he thought he was about to be attacked.‡

* Rev. E. E. Hale, *The Naval History of the American Revolution*, in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI: pp. 580, 581.

† See the interesting *Extract du Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing* (1782), p. 38, upon the effect of Sullivan's charges.

‡ The three flagships, together with the César and Marseillais, all under other commanders, afterwards took part in the campaigns of de Grasse. And the Zélé was in a large measure responsible for Lord Rodney's defeat of the Frenchman in 1782, for, being injured by col-

The rise of the commander-in-chief of this powerful force had been very rapid.* He was only thirty-three when made a lieutenant-general and rear admiral, and thus given high rank in the navy as well as in the army, notwithstanding that he had been bred a soldier and had seen no naval service other than to participate in several commerce-destroying undertakings. In 1777 the title of third vice-admiral was created for him, and the next year he received the important command of the expedition to America. At this time he was forty-nine years old and had been in the navy but fifteen years, so a French writer has said that "perhaps the least known at Toulon among the general officers of the fleet was the commander-in-chief himself." †

As might be expected, in the light of his inexperience d'Estaing did not have the confidence of his officers, among whom were some of the ablest in the French navy; ‡ and though "brave as his sword" and the idol

lisions with two of her companions so that she had to be taken in tow, de Grasse was forced to accept battle at a disadvantage. The *César* and *Hector* suffered terribly in this fight and were among the five ships captured by the British, but they proved of little worth to the conquerors, the former being accidentally burned the night of the battle and the latter lost on the way to England. The frigate *Aimable* was captured after the battle.

* Charles Henri Theodat d'Estaing Du Saillans, called the Count d'Estaing, was born at Auvergne 1729, and died at Paris April 28, 1794.

† Lacour-Gayet, p. 139.

‡ Chevalier, p. 154: Writing anonymously, one of these officers said, "We will finish the portrait of this commander by saying that he is not really profound upon anything, but superficial upon everything." Quoted by Lacour-Gayet, p. 229: "Suffren wished that d'Estaing's seamanship had equalled his courage." (*Ibid.*, p. 230.)

of his men, he did not succeed as a naval commander. But he did have at least one qualification for the work assigned him, namely, an intense hatred of the English, which he manifested throughout his life, and he told the judges who condemned him to the guillotine in the French Revolution to send his head to the English, as they would pay well for it.

First among the other officers may be mentioned d'Estaing's chief of staff, the able Chevalier de Borda, "major-general" of the fleet, but better known to the world as a scientist and geometrician.* Pléville Le Peley, of the Languedoc, "lieutenant de port" in the fleet, after an active service, retired in 1788, and was minister of marine under the Directory.† And Count Barras de Saint-Laurent (usually referred to as Barras), captain of the *Zélé*, who later succeeded to the command of the squadron of Ternay, will ever be gratefully remembered by Americans for his timely arrival before Yorktown with the siege train of the French army.

In command of the *Guerrier* the French admiral had with him an officer who, like himself, had first served

* Jean Charles de Borda was born at Dax May 4, 1733, and died at Paris February 20, 1799.

† Le Peley had a remarkable history. Early in his career he lost his right leg, which was replaced with a wooden one, and twice thereafter this wooden one was shot away. As will be noted later, he was one of the victims of a riot in Boston. For his life see Balch, *The French in America*, II: p. 200.

in the army, but who, unlike the commander-in-chief, obtained distinction upon the sea, — Bougainville, the celebrated circumnavigator of the world.*

The captain of the *Fantasque* was Suffren, perhaps the greatest naval officer that the French nation has produced, whose fierce encounters with Sir Edward Hughes have won for him the admiration of our Captain Mahan.† And on the *Sagittaire* was d'Albert de Rions, in Suffren's estimation the foremost officer in the French navy.‡ D'Estaing's opinion of de Rions was no less laudatory. Indeed, of all the officers of the fleet who were with him at Boston, he recommended but two — de Rions and Suffren. For them he solicited the title

* Louis Antoine, Count de Bougainville, was born at Paris, November 11, 1729. Brought up to be a lawyer, and a mathematician of no mean ability, he entered the army in 1754, went to America as an aid to Montcalm, and served with distinction at Quebec and in 1761 in Germany. Upon the conclusion of peace in 1763 he left the army for the navy, and three years later, having failed in an attempt to found a settlement on the Falkland Islands, sailed around the world. (Dec. 15, 1766, to March 16, 1769.) He commanded under both d'Estaing and de Grasse, and afterwards seems to have received in turn the titles of field-marshal and vice admiral. On the outbreak of the revolution in France he retired from public service to devote himself to scientific pursuits, but was a senator under the Empire. He died at Paris August 31, 1811.

† Pierre André de Suffren de Saint-Tropez, called the Bailli de Suffren, was born at Saint-Cannat, July 13, 1728, and died at Paris Dec. 8, 1788. (See *Influence of Sea Power*, Ch. 12.)

‡ Francois Hector d'Albert, Count de Rions, was born at Avignon in 1728, and died October 3, 1802. Chevalier says that after the death of Suffren, de Rions was regarded as the officer most capable of commanding a large fleet.

of brevet "chef d'escadre," meaning "commodore" or "flag officer." *

All of d'Estaing's vessels did not reach Boston at one time, for the *César* being separated from the fleet by the storm, made no attempt to rejoin it, but proceeded alone to Boston, where she arrived on the afternoon of August 22nd. She had a terrible fight with an English fifty-gun ship, the *Isis*, in the course of which her captain, the Chevalier de Raimondis, lost his right arm. General Heath went to see him as soon as the *César* arrived, and expressed regret at the Frenchman's misfortune, to which the latter replied "that he was ready to lose his other arm in the cause of the Americans." "Remember this," writes Heath, "ye Americans in future times." †

The other vessels arrived in Boston on the morning of the 28th, and d'Estaing at once disposed of the fleet so as to be able to meet an attack. The *Languedoc*, *Marseillais* and *Protecteur*, which were most in need of

* Suffren was made fourth vice-admiral of the French navy, April 4, 1784, a special office created for him, which ceased at his death. D'Estaing was made admiral, Bougainville and Barras vice-admirals, and de Rions rear-admiral, in 1792. And there were other officers in the fleet that afterwards attained high rank. For a roster of the fleet see de Noailles, Appendix II, p. 365, and Lacour-Gayet, Appendix V, p. 629.

† *Memoirs of Major-Genl. Heath*, N. Y. 1904, p. 204. De Raimondis was granted two pensions, but the captain asked in addition for the order of Saint Louis, "le cordon rouge," on the ground that he was the first officer to lose an arm during the campaign. He left for France with Lafayette on the *Alliance*, January 6, 1779.

repairs,* were anchored in the inner harbor;† and the exigency was considered so great that the French were permitted to work upon the Sabbath "with as little disturbance . . . as possible, during the time of divine Service."‡

The remaining ships-of-the-line were stationed in Nantasket Road, and to make their positions more secure the fortifications at Hull were appropriated and manned, and George's, Lovell's and Gallup's Islands, together with Long Island or Peddock's Island, were occupied and put in a state of defence.§ To accomplish this the

* In addition to the damage done by the storm, the Languedoc had been attacked by the Renown, of fifty guns, and the Marseillais by another fifty-gun ship, which Lacour-Gayet (p. 168) says was the Preston.

† Cf. Chevalier, p. 118. Lacour-Gayet says (p. 171) "Quincy Bay," but adds in a note that d'Estaing wrote "King's Road." September 8, 1778, the French were given leave to land sick sailors on Governor's Island, "which lyes next the Marseillais, the Ship the nearest to the Town." (Mass. Archives, Doc. CLXIX, p. 151.)

‡ Council Records XXII, p. 435. Lacour-Gayet speaks of the trouble which the French experienced in refitting their vessels in America because of the lack of arsenals. And d'Estaing wrote that they had to send to Portsmouth for the masts needed by the Languedoc, and could not find any suitable for a vessel larger than a sixty-four. So they took the masts out of the Protecteur, 74, and gave them to the 90-gun flagship. The Protecteur was fitted out with the masts of the Vaillant, 64, and the new masts placed in the Vaillant. Report of d'Estaing to the Secretary of Marine in H. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis*, 111 (1888), p. 459. Heath notes that the work on the flagship was completed October 5, and that she then "fell down to Nantasket Road and joined the squadron." *Memoirs*, p. 208.

§ D'Estaing wrote "Pettik." (Doniol 111, p. 458.) Lacour-Gayet includes all but Long and Peddock's Island, and the documents in the State Archives mention only George's and Long Island.

three frigates were taken into Hull Bay and almost completely dismantled;* and Chevalier says that by Sept. 1st they had thirty 18 and 24-pounders mounted at Hull and on George's Island, two batteries and six mortars, one battery containing eleven 24's, and the other eight 18's and 24's. Whether this statement is entirely accurate may be doubted, and it is probable that the rush on the defences did not begin until the presence of an English fleet was reported on August 31st.†

The "fortifications" at Hull consisted of a fort on Telegraph Hill and two batteries on Cushing Hill, and it is a question as to just what the French did there. It is assumed in some French accounts that the works were built by d'Estaing, and the impression has existed in this country that their design at least was attributable to his engineers. But this is an error. The fortification of Nantasket Head was undertaken shortly after the British evacuated Boston, and as early as July, 1776, a committee of the General Court reported the work

* In 1848 an immense anchor, said to have weighed "about 8,000 pounds," and presumably belonging to one of d'Estaing's ships, was grappled off Peddock's Island. *Notes on the South Shore by the "Shade of Alden,"* (Boston, 1848), p. 21.

† Sept. 1st the Board of War was directed to supply d'Estaing with "ten Gundoloes or flatt-bottomed boats . . . for transporting of Cannon," and Heath informed the Council, Sept. 2, that the Count was "fortifying some of the Islands with the utmost dispatch & has got a considerable number of cannon on shore mounted in the works which he has thrown up." Sept. 5, application was made to the Council for two beds for 13-inch mortars which d'Estaing "proposed" to place on George's Island.

"about half finished." In November, 1776, and again in January, 1777, other committees reported it "well constructed and nearly finished," and each referred specifically to the fort and the two batteries. The report of the last-mentioned committee is signed by Joseph Palmer, and describes the defences at Hull as including a "pentagonal" fort and two batteries, one west of the fort with eight embrasures, and the other to the north with five, the fort itself having sixteen embrasures. And in the State Archives there is a plan with Palmer's name, dated February 27, 1777, showing the fort, which it is interesting to note is called "Fort Independence," and a "draft" of the batteries.

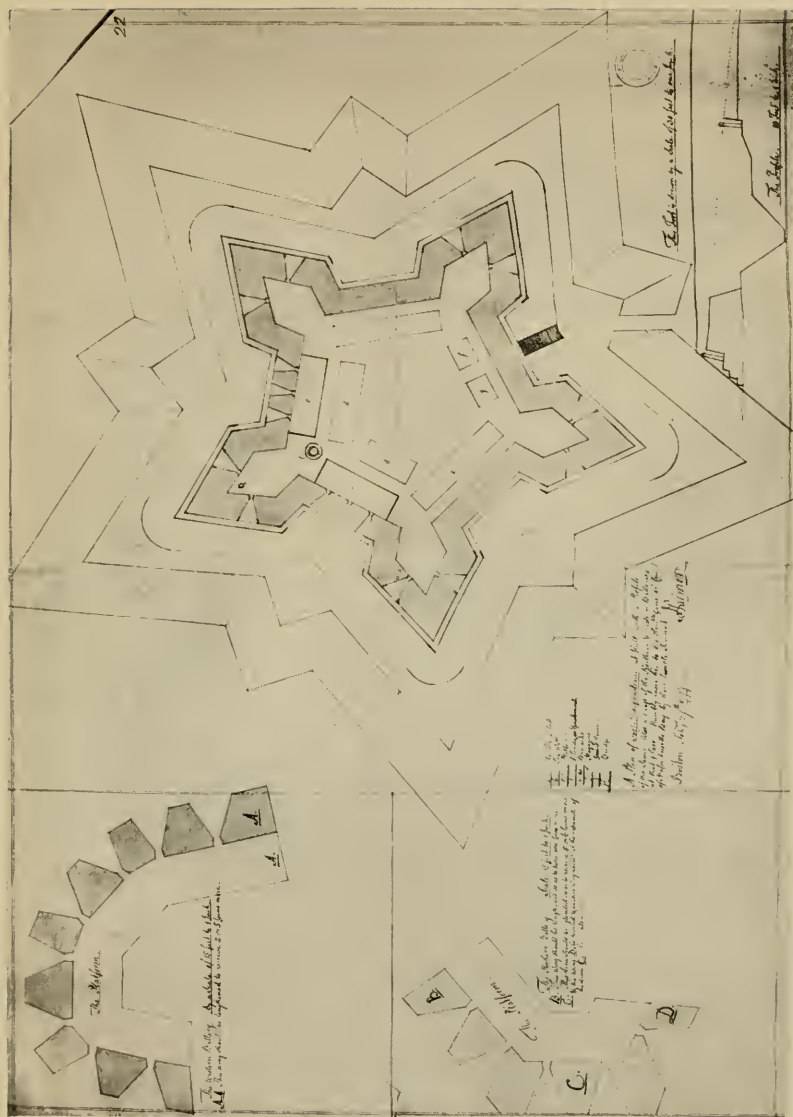
In an undated committee report, indexed in the Archives as June, 1777, it is said, "That the works now at Hull, tho' pretty well constructed are far from being compleat, or Sufficient if made so, at that place." But another undated report shows that when the committee's investigation was made, probably in August of 1777, they had found at Hull a fortification "called the Eight Gun Battery," containing four 42-pounders and two 9-pounders, and "nearer the Waters Edge the three Gun Battery so called," with three 42-pounders, together with a large fort mounting nine 9's and two 18's.

This clearly indicates that the fortifications at Hull had progressed well toward completion long before the arrival of d'Estaing; and considering the fact that their earthwork mounds, as they remained until very recently,

were, in design, precisely as drawn on Palmer's plan — except that the northern battery had openings for but three guns — there is little foundation for the tradition about their French origin.*

So far as Hull was concerned, d'Estaing's efforts were devoted largely to supplying a deficiency in men and arms. The committee of the General Court which reported in November, 1776, had doubted whether the place could be made tenable, and had suggested in consequence that few guns be risked there, and the troops in the harbor forts had been dismissed in April, 1778, on the arrival of the transports for the Convention prisoners. Not until the end of July does the Council seem to have again considered these defences. Then they directed General Heath "to retain one commissioned officer, one Serjeant, one Corporal & one Gunner . . . to be stationed at the Castle and at Hull for the Purpose of hailing vessels, examining Passes, making Signals, etc." Very likely this small guard was all that d'Estaing found upon his arrival. The other defences of Nantasket Road were unquestionably begun by the French admiral, though he was not the first to realize

* The three-gun battery which was near the edge of Cushing Hill, facing Boston Light, gradually disappeared as the bluff washed away. But it was not until the modern fortifications were begun after the Spanish War that any considerable destruction of the fort and eight-gun battery took place. And the late Lewis P. Loring of Hull informed the writer a few years since that "seventy-five years ago one could drive in front of the three-gun battery with a horse and wagon." Now all that can be seen are the tips of the crescent.



PLAN OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AT HULL, BY JOSEPH PALMER, FEBRUARY 27, 1777.

(From the Original in the State Archives)



the importance of some of the positions,* and he had to land the cannon for them because, he says, "we could not obtain any from the Americans."

A well-known member of this Society, Mr. John W. Farwell, owns a chart of Boston Harbor, which he picked up in Paris and which may have belonged to a member of d'Estaing's force. It is a French reproduction of the familiar Des Barres chart, somewhat smaller than the original, and written with a pencil upon it, in French, is the note, "Defense of Boston by the French fleet under d'Estaing 1778 August or [?] April." The chart shows, in pencil, a fort on Telegraph Hill and one on George's Island. Stretching in line from Windmill Point, Hull, to Rainsford Island, are represented four three-masted square-rigged vessels, and in the same line, north of Long Island, five more such vessels. Anchored off Long Wharf, Boston, in two lines heading south, is shown an American flotilla as follows: the Independence, Tyrannicide, and Speedwell, in line near the wharf, and the Warren, Raleigh, Deane, Sampson, Hancock, and Massachusetts, farther away.

The chart thus accounts for the nine battleships which d'Estaing left in the outer harbor, but it differs with all records of the episode in placing more than half of these ships in what was then "King Road."†

* Cf. Committee Report, Jan. 31, 1777, printed at the end of this paper.

† Now called President Roads. The plural *Roads* is also commonly used today in respect of the anchorage at Nantasket, but I have kept to the old singular form in this paper.

D'Estaing reported that the nine serviceable liners were "left at Nantasket," and that they were arranged broadside in a semi-circle, so that a hail of shot could be discharged at a central point. He explained that he chose Nantasket in preference to — as he wrote it — "King's Road" for the reason that, although the latter was larger and safer, an enemy occupying Nantasket Road could blockade it. He recalled that the English had moored at Nantasket without risk after Boston had passed out of their possession, and it seemed to him "indispensable" that they should not be permitted to do so again.

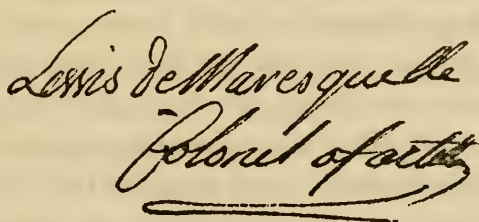
It is to be observed, however, that Mr. Farwell's chart shows two courses into the harbor, — one from the sea south of George's Island, and the other from Broad Sound into King Road. The disposition of the battle-ships as marked on the chart may have been made at some time during the Count's stay at Boston, and in either situation we can probably agree with d'Estaing that in the offing his ships presented "a most imposing order." *

Nantasket Road has seen many fleets since the coming of the white man. It was the starting point of many of the expeditions against Canada, such as Sir William Phips's ill-fated undertaking in 1690, the expedition of

* September 2, Ezekiel Price wrote in his Diary: "This day went with the Selectmen and a number of other gentlemen to Hospital [now Rainsford] Island, had a view of the French fleet then in the harbour, as well as those stationed in Nantasket Harbour; they made a very formidable appearance, and were so disposed as to protect us from any approach of the British Navy."

1711, and the Louisburg expedition of 1745 ; and a part of Lord Amherst's huge force seems to have stopped there in September, 1758. With the War of Independence, however, began a great era in the history of sailing men-of-war. From 1759 to 1770 under Choiseul there was a tremendous revival of the French navy. Frenchmen were the master builders of the ships of the period, and we like to imagine the picture which an artist might make of the scene which d'Estaing has described.*

The Council helped on the new fortifications by furnishing tools, materials and other necessities, and in response to d'Estaing's request for someone to oversee and direct the work, sent him on August 31st a fellow-countryman, then in the service of Massachusetts, "Lewis de Maresquelle, Colonel of Artillery and Inspector General of the Foundries of the State."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Lewis de Maresquelle" on the first line and "Colonel of Artillery" on the second line. The signature is written in a cursive style with a decorative flourish underneath the second line.

This officer was one of the many foreigners who sought employment with the colonists during the struggle with the mother country. His full name was Marie Louis Amand Ansart de Maresquelle, but he ordinarily

* "The hull of the *Constitution* was modeled after the best French practice." (Hollis, *The Frigate Constitution*, p. 38.)

signed himself in this country Lewis de Maresquelle, using the English spelling of Louis.* He arrived in 1776, being then thirty-four years old, and on December 6th of that year proposed to the General Court of Massachusetts to establish furnaces and provide the State with all the iron cannon that it might need.

In the "Proposal" Maresquelle described himself as "an old Captain of Infantry" who had "been brought up in the Forges of France (his Father & the Marquis of Montalembert, his relation, having furnished, for many years, all the Iron Cannon in the Service of the French King)." He then went on to say that at one time all cannon were cast with a cylinder, but that this process always left little holes or cavities, frequently the cause of bursting, and that in 1750 his father "cast many solid Cannon, and found them superior to those cast with a Cylinder," with the result that at the time of the proposal none but solid cannon were cast in French forges. He said his father had invented a machine to do the boring, and that with it a twenty-four pounder could "be bored, polished & the spruce cut off in twenty-four hours." And he agreed that if the State would supply the place, machinery, and materials, he would construct the furnaces, and when the mills were

* Due apparently to the fact that Maresquelle was employed by the State of Massachusetts; his name does not appear in the recent publication of the French Government entitled *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine* (Paris, 1903). Nor have we found him mentioned in Stone's *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), nor in Balch or the other works on the French in America during the war.

ready for boring would "furnish one Cannon ready for Service every twenty-four Hours out of the common Iron Ore within this State." He also agreed to disclose to such persons as the State might select all his knowledge upon the subject, which included a "peculiar method of softening the Iron by a mixture of Ores & Minerals," and he stipulated that if he did not fulfill his promises he would not only waive all claims against the State but would forfeit the sum of a thousand pounds.

In return, Maresquelle asked from the State three hundred dollars in cash to reimburse him for the expenses of his trip to America and one thousand dollars a year until the end of the war, "and after that time the Sum of Six hundred Sixty-Six and two-thirds Dollars yearly during his life." He also stated that he "expected" the "*honor* of a Colonel's Commission to give him Rank," but without pay or command as such.*

The Court accepted the proposition, and besides granting Maresquelle a colonel's commission made him Inspector of Foundries. Indeed, it is probable that they were only too glad to avail themselves of the opportunity. For Drake says that "in the beginning of the Revolution cannon was the most essential thing wanted," and he quotes a letter dated at Boston, Sept. 1, 1776, telling that the demand for guns to fit out privateers was so great that they were taking up the

* The text of this interesting contract may be found in the Court Records, XXXVI, p. 298.

"old things" that had been stuck in the ground at street corners and restoring them to service.*

That the Frenchman made good his part of the contract is evident from the fact that the State paid him the salaries agreed to, to the fraction of a cent, until his death in 1804.† During the war, to be sure, the payments were not always made promptly, but thereafter with ever-increasing regularity and exactness. His pay was figured at the rate of £300 a year — which was agreed to be the equivalent of the \$1,000 voted him — until the 5th of May, 1783, when "the peace establishment," so called, went into effect. Then his salary was fixed at £200 a year, and paid sometimes quarterly and sometimes semi-annually until April 5, 1795, from which date he received regular quarterly payments of \$166.66.07, with the milles left off at intervals.

Further the State showed no disposition to drive a hard bargain. In June, 1779, when Maresquette informed the Court that, owing to the high price of provisions and the depreciation of the currency, his agreed

* *Historic Mansions and Highways Around Boston* (Boston, 1900), pp. 33, 34.

† The last warrant authorized by the Council in this matter was on Aug. 28, 1804, "for Eighty seven Dollars three cents and two milles in favor of the legal representative of Lewis Ansart Esqr., late Inspector of the Foundries, now deceased, in full of the balance of his salary due at the time of his death."

In April, 1780, a committee of the General Court reported that Maresquette had fulfilled his contract "in part and he has ever discovered a Readiness to perform the Whole had the State Enabled him to do it."

salary was not adequate for his support, they voted him an additional allowance of £3 a day. Ten months later, as the value of the currency further declined, they gave him £9 more in order to make his pay commensurate with "the original contract." Both orders were re-dated back several months, and the additions were paid him until October of 1780, when it seems to have been thought that the "new emission" would restore the balance between the currency and his pay. The next month the Court made up all discrepancies by a lump sum payment; but the people did not take kindly to the new bills, and although hard money became more plentiful Maresquelle appears to have experienced continued financial embarrassment, and in January, 1781, he asked for a nine months' leave of absence "to visit his friends & family in France" (from whom he had not heard for some time), and to secure the necessaries suitable to his rank which his pay had not enabled him to purchase in this country. At the same time he offered to undertake any commission which the State might have for him in France. The request was promptly granted, with the sole condition that he first settle his accounts. This he did after some bother in ascertaining the proper board to account to, and he was given his pay to the date of the accounting and upon his return for the period of his absence; further evidence, if any be needed, of the good faith of the State and the high regard of the authorities for the man.

Notwithstanding that Maresquelle had stated he expected no command, he could not resist the longing for active service, and when the Rhode Island campaign was organizing he sought an opportunity to go to the front. July 31st, 1778, the Board of War sent him to Sullivan with a letter in which they described the Frenchman as one "Glowing with Ardor to signalize himself in the intended Expedition," who "comes to offer himself with Chearfulness to any service for which you may think him qualified." And they stated that "from the long personal knowledge and acquaintance we have had with him we can recommend him as a brave and worthy man, and flatter ourselves he will so acquit himself as to deserve that Approbation from his General for which he is so eagerly panting"—certainly a splendid tribute. He served as an aide to Sullivan, and a month later was dispatched to d'Estaing, as has been noted.

December 9th, 1781, Maresquelle married at Boston Catharine Wimble, and after the war moved with her to Dracut, Mass., where there were born to them, so far as the records show, eight children,—three sons and five daughters. Probably there were others born before this. In 1793 he petitioned the Legislature for authority to drop the de Maresquelle from his name, inasmuch as he was about to take out naturalization papers and wanted to be naturalized as Lewis Ansart, "his Christian & Family name." This was granted, and the Frenchman lived out his life at Dracut, a prominent and re-



LEWIS ANSART DE MARESQUELLE
(From a Portrait in the Town Library, Dracut, Mass.)



spected member of the community,* and was buried there in the "Old Woodbine Cemetery," where his grave is marked with a stone bearing the inscription :

ERECTED
In memory of
COL. LEWIS ANSART
Who departed this life
May 22 AD 1804
Æt 62

Col. Ansart was a native of France: he arrived in this country in 1776, and by the Authorities of Massachusetts was immediately appointed a Colonel of Artillery & Inspector General of the Foundries, in which capacity he served until the close of the War of the Revolution.

That the French manned the new defences is certain. Fiske states that d'Estaing had with him 4,000 troops, but de Noailles and Lacour-Gayet mention only a thousand, of the regiments of Hainaut and of Foix; and in his reply to Sullivan, the French admiral intimated that his available land force did not amount to more than 800 men.†

* His widow, who was not quite twenty at the time of their marriage, died Jan. 27, 1849, at the age of 86 yrs. 10 mos.; one son, Felix, rose to the rank of lieutenant of artillery in the regular army in the War of 1812.

Mrs. Sara Swan Griffin has collected considerable data about Maresquette in a paper read before the Lowell Historical Society May 11, 1904. See *Contributions Lowell Hist. Soc.* I, No. 1, p. 54 Cf. also the pamphlet *In Memoriam Citizen Soldiers of Dracut, Mass.*, published by the Old Middlesex Chap. S. A. R. 1904. She says that Maresquette was a large man, standing six feet and weighing 200 pounds, and that he occupied the "Old Ministree" house (so called) at Dracut, and entertained there Lafayette, with whom he was well acquainted.

† *The American Revolution*, II, p. 88; *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique*, p. 372; *La Marine Militaire sous Louis XVI*, p. 143; Mass. Archives, Doc. C. C., p. 32.

Referring to d'Estaing's report, we find that the "detachments of Hainaut and of Foix became the garrison of the peninsular of Hull," under the command of Bougainville, and that the Count de Broves (of the César, chef d'escadre) had charge of Gallup's, and the Marquis de Chabert (captain of the Vaillant) of Peddock's. The arrangement in respect of George's is not so clear, but it seems that the mortars there were in charge of Captain Duchatelet of the "regiment de Foix," and that marines were given to de Rions and placed in the other batteries on the same island. And d'Estaing wrote that Lovell's had "only the appearance of defence, a camp *étendu* without soldiers to occupy it."* Heath also says that Bougainville had charge at Hull, and he tells of witnessing there the manoeuvres of a "squadron" of marines who had been trained by Major M'Donald, "a Scotchman whose father was in the rebellion in England, and with his son fled to France."

It is manifest, therefore, that the largest force was landed at Hull. Indeed, the French so completely overran the little town that the American general wrote that the inhabitants were "really to be Pittied," adding, "and such ever will be the case of those whose Lot it is to have Troops Quartered among them."† The townspeople registered their protest in a vigorous petition to

* Doniol, III, p. 458, but cf. Lacour-Gayet, p. 171.

† Heath, Letter to Council, Sept. 8, 1778. (Mass. Archives, Doc. C. C., p. 69.)

the Council. The petition was presented in behalf of the town by Captain Daniel Souther, "an old sea commander" then residing at Hull, whom the Council had previously recommended to d'Estaing because of his knowledge of "the Ground in Nantasket Road." Souther's petition was dated Sept. 5th, and represented: "That the Troops of his most Christian Majesty burn and destroy the Fences of the Inhabitants of the Town of Hull. That they take from them their Wood, their Hay from the Cocks, open their Barns and waste their Grain. That they take up their Spread Flax and convert it to beds. That they take their Cooking Utensils from their Houses, take from [them] their Fruit and their Poultry. That they destroy their Potatoe Yards and their Cornfields." And he prayed for "such relief as Justice and Humanity require." * The Council transmitted the petition to d'Estaing, and the Count took steps to make payment for the harm done. Nevertheless in November we find the town voting to petition the General Court "to make good the Dammiges the Town received by the french troops."

D'Estaing was very anxious to have a redoubt on Point Allerton, which in fact had been proposed by more than one committee of the Legislature. He thought that fifty men would be sufficient to construct and garrison the place, but stated that he had already supplied

* Mass. Archives, Doc. CLXIX, p. 144.

so many posts he was unable to furnish any more men. This was on September 8th, and four days later the Council gave instructions for Colonel Burbeck to be detached with the force mentioned and to undertake the work.

Washington became interested in the defence of Boston to such an extent that on September 29th he directed Brigadier-General du Portail to proceed to the town and "form a plan from a view of the whole local situation of the place which shall appear to give it the most effectual security that circumstances will permit," keeping in mind a co-operation with the French squadron.* The Chief Engineer of the American Army arrived in Boston October 6th, and made an examination of and report on its defenses, which report Heath sent to the Council, with a letter, on the 21st of the month, but what has become of it does not appear.

It early was made evident that the fortification of the headlands at the entrance of the harbor had not been undertaken with undue haste. August 30th the Selectmen of Plymouth sent word to the Council "that a fleet of twenty sail of ships, some of them very large," had been "discovered in the Bay." This resulted in a meeting of the Council at five o'clock the next morning. Steps were taken to convey the news to d'Estaing; the militia were ordered to assemble with three days' rations,

* Mass. Archives, Doc. CC. p. 124.

and a spy boat sent out, in command of one Peter Guyer, to verify the report.

The report was so generally known as to be printed in the *Boston Gazette* of August 31st; and Heath says that on that day he, together with "the President of the Council, Gen. Hancock and others, went down the harbour to confer with the Count D'Estaing." One is, therefore, surprised at the Count's charge that "General Heath and the Americans, following their usual custom, denied the existence of the British force, and they advised me in writing that there was not a vessel of the enemy in the bay, when the whole fleet had been there for four days." * Perhaps the communication to which he refers had been written before the arrival of the express from Plymouth. In any event d'Estaing came up to town September 1st, and was about to sit down to dinner with Heath when signal guns were heard and the alarm was given by a Mr. John Cutler, who seems to have been on watch from the steeple of the Old South Church, that the fleet was off the harbor. †

The Count immediately left for his ships, and the militia were ordered in; but whether the French seemed to be too strongly posted, or the wind was unfavorable, the enemy did not attempt to enter the harbor, and the

* D'Estaing's Report, Doniol III, p. 458.

† Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 205. The *Gazette* of September 7 says that the appearance of the fleet "was announced by signals and the discharge of cannon on the heights of Hull, which were answered at the other posts."

next day had disappeared.* Nor did the British again menace Boston until the end of October, and just as d'Estaing was preparing to leave. Then word was received that Admiral Byron, who had succeeded Howe, was planning an attack upon the town. This time, however, the elements elected to maltreat the English. A tempest sent their vessels into port, many of them in no shape for combat, and d'Estaing slipped away to the West Indies.

In this storm was lost a now famous vessel, the sixty-four-gun ship Somerset, that "British man-of-war" so picturesquely described by the poet Longfellow in "Paul Revere's Ride:"

A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
Across the moon like a prison bar.

She was wrecked on Cape Cod November 3, 1778, and all of her crew that survived were captured by the local militia.†

* As described in the newspapers of the time: "The militia turned out with their usual ardor. The regiment of this town [Boston] immediately paraded, making a very respectable and martial appearance; gentlemen of the first character and fortune being under arms." (See the *Gazette* and *Independent Ledger* of September 7.)

In the assignments made by the Council on August 31, Colonel David Cushing's regiment was ordered to Hull, but the next day the various commanders were directed not to proceed to their posts at once but to hold themselves "in readiness to march on the shortest notice." And the immediate disappearance of the enemy seems to have rendered unnecessary any fulfillment of the assignments.

† The prisoners gave the State no little trouble, and it was not known exactly what to do with them. The services of some were ac-

The authorities in Boston extended to the French every consideration. D'Estaing or some of his officers, as we are told, sat almost every day at General Hancock's table, much to the discomfiture of Madam Hancock. And there is the story that on one occasion they came down upon her in such force that, in order to meet the situation, she was compelled to send out and milk all the cows on the Common,—an incident which, be it related to the credit of the owners, is said to have amused rather than have angered them. The Count reciprocated by holding a banquet on one of his ships.* But there were other people in Boston to be reckoned with, and on the night of September 8th, 1778, a riot occurred which ended seriously and threatened still more disastrous consequences.

It seems that the French had set up a bakery for the fleet in the town, and as a result of a refusal to deliver bread, the Frenchmen in charge got into a row with some outsiders and a fight ensued. And two officers of the squadron, Pléville Le Peley and Lieutenant the Cheva-

cepted on the Alliance, which took Lafayette to France in January, 1779. The frigate was short-handed, the Marquis eager to be on his way, and the course seemed a partial solution of the difficulty. As might have been expected, a mutiny was planned before the ship reached her destination, but being seasonably warned, the passengers and officers united were able to quell the mutineers.

* For an account of this dinner see Magazine of American History, XIX, pp. 507, 508, and Sears, *John Hancock*, p. 260 (note). Mrs. Adams tells of dining with d'Estaing on the Languedoc, and is particular to note the abstemiousness of the French officers. *Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams* (Boston, 1876), p. 342.

lier de Saint-Sauveur, who attempted to intercede, were wounded, the latter mortally. Bad enough in itself, the affair was magnified by the rank of the officers concerned, for Saint-Sauveur, who was attached to the *Tonnant*, was not only an adjutant of the fleet but the first chamberlain of the King's brother and brother-in-law of the Count de Breugnon, one of d'Estaing's two flag officers.* It was felt that the very existence of the alliance with the French might be at stake, and the authorities were greatly troubled. Guards were ordered to patrol the streets to prevent further disturbance, and the Council promised a reward of three hundred dollars to anyone who should give information against the rioters. But nothing came of it, and it has never been determined just who was responsible for the affray. The morning after, Heath notified the Council that the disturbance was "between a number of French officers and a number of Sailors or Inhabitants." Later in the same day, when he must have had more detailed information, he wrote d'Estaing that the participants were "a number of Frenchmen belonging to your squadron and a number of American sailors." And he made a similar report to General Washington.

The situation was one calling for calm judgment, and whatever d'Estaing's qualifications as a naval commander may have been, he exhibited on this occasion a restraint

* De Breugnon had his flag on the *Tonnant*, the other "chef d'escadre" being de Broves of the *César*.

and good sense which will ever make Boston and the whole country his debtors. In his letter to the French admiral, Heath had stated that "some of the hands belonging to the Marlborough privateer are suspected of being concerned in the riot." The crew of the privateer was said to contain British deserters, and d'Estaing was quick to make use of the intimation that the riot was excited by British sympathizers. In his reply to Heath (written on the 10th of September) he declared that "our common enemies hesitate at nothing," and Heath was able to write Washington that the Count had assured him that he was "fully satisfied the Inhabitants had no hand in the affray," much to the relief of the American commander-in-chief, who sagely advised that "all possible means should now be taken to cultivate harmony between the people and seamen, who will not be so easily reconciled as their officers, not having so much sense to direct them."

The newspapers of the time contain surprisingly little about the incident, but the following communication in the *Independent Ledger* of September 14 shows how thoroughly the conduct of the French was appreciated:—

The riot which occasioned the issuing a proclamation by the Council of this State, offering an high reward for the discovery and apprehension of those concerned therein, was begun, it's said, by seamen captur'd in British vessels and some of Burgoyne's army who had inlisted as privateers just

ready to sail. A body of these fellows demanded, we are told, bread of the French bakers who were employed for the supplying the Count D'Estaing's fleet; being refused, they fell upon the bakers with clubs, and beat them in a most outrageous manner. Two officers of the Count's being apprized of the tumult, and attempting to compose the affray were greatly wounded; one of them is a person of distinguished family and rank. . . .

We are well informed that his Excellency the Count D'Estaing, upon hearing of the violence that had been committed . . . though much grieved considered the matter in the calmest and most prudent light, and was thoroughly satisfied that it was highly disagreeable to the inhabitants and that every proper method would be taken for finding out and punishing the offenders. Such prudence and moderation mark this great man and must disappoint the hopes of our enemies, who would be glad that every such incident might prove the means of creating dissensions of a more extensive and important nature.

A correspondent observes, that there is a striking contrast between the behavior of the British military of this town, and that of the French. The former, though coming from what we formerly regarded as our *mother country*, and with a professed design to support law, and protect us, yet in a wanton and butcherly manner fired upon the inhabitants of Boston, without any just provocation, before they received any assault that might afford even a pretence to so bloody a procedure; the latter now become by the oppression and cruelties of Britain our allies and protectors when assaulted themselves by unknown ruffians, have left their protection and

satisfaction entirely in the hands of the civil magistrate. Nay, we have it from good authority, that the General, the Count D'Estaing, has desired that should any inhabitant appear to have been concerned in this affray, he might not be punished, and the centuries at the French baking house were prohibited from using any violence in defending even so necessary an article as bread for their fleet.

Saint-Sauveur died at Boston on the 15th of September. The next day the General Court of Massachusetts, expressing its detestation of "the Perpetrators and Abettors of this horrid Deed," voted as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased to attend his body to the place of interment and to "provide a monumental Stone to be placed in the burial Ground where his Remains shall be deposited, with such inscription as his Excellency the Count D'Estaing shall order." Col. Thomas Dawes was made a committee to see to the erection of the stone.

D'Estaing was much affected, but seems to have thought it wiser to have the funeral less public, and the unhappy victim of the brawl was buried at night — it is said in the crypt of King's Chapel, — "dite chapelle du roy," as the secretary of the fleet has it in his account of the burial, quoting which, de Noailles* says that the ceremony exactly conformed with the last wishes of the deceased.

* *Marins et Soldats Français de Amérique*, pp. 47, 48.

Eight sailors of the *Tonnant* bore the coffin on their shoulders. I preceded them with the sexton and grave-digger; the recollet, M.M. de Borda, de Puységur and Piervères followed; the servant of the deceased and perhaps two or three Frenchmen closed the procession; we started in this order at ten o'clock, and arriving at the church called King's Chapel, found the basement of the church illuminated with many candles, without ostentation. The vault was opened and the Reverend Father deposited the remains without ceremony; the door of the vault having been closed and padlocked, we returned to sign a certificate of interment which I had already drawn up. In fine, what we had been charged to do could not have been done with more precision and exactness.*

“Could one read anything more cold and lugubrious?” says the French writer. “What a sad end for a young officer!”

The funeral having taken place, the leaders of the allied parties then apparently endeavored so far as possible to forget the incident and to remove all traces of ill feeling which it may have left. On September 22nd d'Estaing and his officers appeared publicly in Boston in full dress. They were saluted in the harbor and were met upon their landing by a committee of both houses

* The recollet was a Franciscan monk and de Puységur an ensign attached to the Languedoc. The “vault” referred to in the account has been thought to be the “strangers’ tomb,” so called, underneath the porch of King's Chapel. But the Church seems to have no record of the interment, and Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882 and 1896), makes no mention of Saint-Sauveur or of his burial.

of the Legislature and conducted to the Council Chamber. After the reception there they breakfasted with Hancock, and before returning took punch with Heath at headquarters. Perhaps this was the occasion when Madam Hancock made her famous attack on the cows on the Common.

Three days later the French were given a grand public dinner in Faneuil Hall, which was attended by "upwards of 500 guests," and at which no less than twenty-three toasts were drunk "under the discharge of cannon." A list of these toasts, taken from Lacour-Gayet, is given below* : —

1. America.
2. The King of France.
3. Congress.
4. The French Fleet.
5. Genl. Washington and the American Army.
6. The Independence of America.
7. The Alliance between France and America; may it never be broken.
8. The French Minister to Congress.
9. Franklin, the American Minister at the Court of France.
10. Liberty and the Friendship of France.
11. Commerce, Art, and Agriculture.
12. M. d'Orvilliers and all his Army.
13. The Count d'Estaing and all the Officers of the French Fleet in Boston Harbor.
14. (By d'Estaing.) The President of the Council and all Americans here present.

* *La Marine Militaire sous Louis XVI*, p. 173 note.

15. Monseigneur, the Duke de Chartres.
16. The Queen of France.
17. M. Du Chaffault.
18. The Marquis de La Fayette.
19. American Ships and Sailors.
20. All the Women and Young Girls who have lost their Husbands and Sweethearts in the Good Cause.
21. The Duke de Choiseul.
22. M. de Sartine.
23. M. de Maurepas.*

D'Estaing prepared an inscription for the monument to Saint-Sauveur,† and thus, through the wisdom exercised by both sides, was closed, for the time being at least, a most unfortunate event. Here is the inscription:—

This monument has been erected in consequence of a resolution of the State of Massachusetts Bay the 16th Sept. 1778 in memory of Chevalier de St. Sauveur, First Chamberlain of His Royal Highness, Monseigneur Count d'Artois, brother of His Majesty, the King of France.

This officer, an Adjutant of the French fleet and a Lieutenant of the Tonnant, after having had the glory of risking

* The dinner was authorized by a vote of the General Court passed on September 22, and the next day the Council directed the Board of War to supply the dinner committee with such articles as it might apply for. The Board seems to have furnished little more than the wines and liquors and the nails for the tables; and Hancock's biographers have asserted that although Boston got the credit, the dinner was paid for by John Hancock. (Cf. A. B. Brown in *John Hancock, His Book* (Boston, 1898), p. 229, and Lorenzo Sears, *John Hancock The Picturesque Patriot* (Boston, 1912), p. 260.)

† As contained in the so-called Log Book of the Languedoc, it is dated Sept. 28, 1778.

his life for the United States, became in the performance of his duty the victim of a tumult caused by the evil minded. Dying with the same devotion to America, the ties of duty and sympathy which bind his compatriots to the City of Boston have thus been drawn tighter. May all efforts to separate France and America end thus. Such will be the prayer in the centuries to come of all Frenchmen and Americans whose eyes shall fall upon this mausoleum of a young man taken from his friends who may be consoled at his loss by seeing such funeral flowers spread upon his tomb.

This inscription proposed in Council by the Count d'Estaing, commanding the first squadron sent by the King of France to his allies, has been engraved on this stone by order of Colonel Thomas Dawes, designated for this purpose by the Government.

The Admiral caused copies of the inscription to be distributed in the fleet, that his men might know what had been done ; but Washington's advice that peace be restored between the people and the sailors did not prove to be easily carried out. Rows are said to have occurred on the 26th and 27th of September, and on October 5th there was a street fight between the French and "some American seamen," followed by secret hints that "a much greater disturbance" would take place on the next night ; whereupon the Council ordered Heath to call out the troops, and intrusted to the Sheriff of Suffolk County the not very enviable duty of attending the troops to see "that no unlawful measure be taken in Quelling the Riot."

On the evening of October 12th the American brig Hazard came into the harbor and dropped anchor immediately alongside the schooner Dolphin, commanded by M. Bouguier, an officer of the French squadron. Although hailed and requested to move, the Americans paid no attention except to reply in terms characterized chiefly by force. The matter was then called to the attention of the authorities by the French consul, who feared the outcome, and the Council promptly told Capt. Williams to move the Hazard at once, and "to order his men not to treat the men on board the Dolphin with any opprobrious language in time to come." *

While clashes with visiting seamen have taken place even in our day, the incidents we have mentioned reveal the low regard of the American sailor of 1778 for his French brother, and doubtless the "frog-eater" epithet played its part in the proceedings. The energetic measures of the authorities, however, prevented further serious outbreaks, and it was not long before the French left for less vigorous climes.

The Saint-Sauveur incident was rediscovered, as it were, a few years ago, through an inquiry made by one of the founders of the French Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, asking where in Boston the

* Mass. Archives, Doc. CLXIX, p. 217. The Hazard was a Massachusetts brig of 16 or 18 guns, commanded by John Foster Williams. Built in 1777 she had a short but brilliant career, and was burned in the Penobscot Aug. 1779 to avoid falling into the hands of the British.

memorial to the Chevalier was located. As a result Bostonians had a rude awakening. While the story of the riot was not unfamiliar to local antiquarians, much did not seem to be known about the final action of the Court, taken out of respect to the memory of the victim, and less could be told about the place of his interment.

Upon an investigation 125 years after the resolve was passed, it was found that it had never been carried out. Just why, is a mystery. The writer saw nothing in the State Archives to indicate that Col. Dawes ever recalled the matter to the attention of the Court, although he seems to have conferred with d'Estaing about the inscription. Apparently the trying labors of the authorities during the remaining years of the war and at the birth of the new nation, served but too well to cause them entirely to forget an affair which they had every reason to hope had been ended for all time. And it was not long before the Americans of 1778 found themselves at war with their late allies.

Through the efforts of Capt. A. A. Folsom of Brookline, to whom the embarrassing inquiry above-mentioned was addressed, the matter was brought to the attention of the Legislature, and a committee was appointed which made an investigation and a report,* in which may be found many of the documents relating to Saint-Sauveur

* Senate, No. 336, April, 1905.

and his death, referred to in this paper. And on June 26, 1906, a Resolve* was signed by the Governor, authorizing the committee "to cause to be erected on behalf of the Commonwealth a monument, with a suitable inscription, in the cemetery of King's Chapel in Boston, subject to the grant of a site therein by the City of Boston," and at an expense "not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars."

Now almost seven years have passed, none of the money has been withdrawn from the Treasury, Capt. Folsom has died, and the monument pledged by the State has yet to be raised. It has been shown in the case of Lewis de Maresquellé that Massachusetts can keep a contract with the living in spirit and letter. May we not inquire whether a promise made in memory of the dead is less sacred?

D'Estaing left Boston in November, 1778, a part of his fleet getting away on the 3rd and the balance on the 4th, and no considerable French force again appeared in the harbor until nearly the end of the Revolution.† In

* Chap. 104 of the Resolves of the year 1906.

† The storm of November 2 gave d'Estaing the opportunity to escape the British for which he was waiting; but the departure of the French fleet was not uneventful. The ill-fated *Zélé* grounded hard, and the *Protecteur* and *Languedoc* behaved so badly with their new masts that it was feared they would be wrecked. D'Estaing wrote that the flagship was never in greater danger. She would not steer, and "an irresistible current pushed her ashore." Only by immediately anchoring was the vessel saved. One familiar with the tides at Hull can easily believe the admiral's story.

the interval, however, the town saw not a few French notables, and Breck says that the war brought so many French ships to Boston, "sometimes to refit and sometimes to escape the enemy," that a permanent local agent to collect supplies became necessary, and that his father was honored with the position. Indeed, Boston seems to have been regarded by the French as the best place for the equipment of their vessels.

In August, 1779, the town was visited by the new French minister, the Chevalier de La Luzerne, who addressed the Council and was introduced to the members, and afterwards tendered the invariable "public dinner." Not quite a year later (April 28, 1780), Lafayette returned from France on the French frigate *Hermione*, Capt. La Touche, bringing news of the coming of Rochambeau and his army. There was a popular outburst over the young Frenchman, and he was received on his landing by an escort of Continental officers, and by them accompanied to his lodgings, when he had paid his respects to the Legislature. But the Marquis was a man of action, and he left almost immediately for the American army, not to return until Yorktown had fallen. After his departure the gentlemen of Boston gave a ball to the French and American officers in the town.

Balch* mentions the arrival at Boston during the year 1781 of several vessels bringing funds from France,

* *The French in America*, I: pp. 140, 141 and 148.

— the frigates *Astrée* (Capt. La Pérouse), January 25th, and *Concorde* (Capt. Tanouarn), May 6th, and the two-decker *Sagittaire* in June,* and the *Boston Gazette* of September 10 makes note of the entry, four days previously, of the *Engageante* frigate “with a Quantity of Cash.” Her commander was one of the four Kergariou brothers who served in the French navy during the war.

The *Sagittaire* escorted a convoy of 633 recruits and four companies of artillery, and there returned on the *Concorde* the Viscount Rochambeau (son of the French commander-in-chief) and Barras de Saint-Laurent, the newly commissioned commander of the squadron at Newport. With them came also the Baron du Bourg, who wrote a description of Boston; but the arrival of these notables seems to have made little stir in the town.

It must not be supposed that during this period the British forgot the place; the fact is quite the opposite. The ships of His Britannic Majesty frequently cruised in the bay and along the coast, picking up valuable prizes, to the great detriment of the town's merchants. The French were sometimes asked to go out against them, and in May, 1780, La Touche coasted as far east as the Penobscot. Later in the same month he sailed from Boston to the southward and fought a drawn battle

* The latter was de Rions' old command which had been detached from the main fleet in April, 1780, to re-enforce the squadron at Rhode Island, and was now commanded by Montluc de La Bourdonnaye.

with a British frigate, during which he was wounded in the arm.*

September 1st, 1781, an English sixty-gun ship, out of Halifax, held up, at the very entrance of Boston Harbor, a French thirty-two, the frigate *Magicienne*, convoying a mast-ship from the Piscataqua. The Frenchman was forced to fight, and, though he saved his convoy, had to strike after an engagement of less than an hour, during which he had thirty-two killed and fifty-four wounded, while the British reported but one killed and one wounded,—the usual discrepancy when a frigate battled with a ship-of-the-line.† All the time there were several French vessels lying in the harbor, but they seem to have been unprepared for action, and the Englishman not only took his prize but got away with it.

Notwithstanding that the battle took place so far within the harbor that it created no little excitement,

* In July, 1781, *La Touche* in the *Hermione*, and *La Pérouse* in the *Astrée*, fought a splendid battle with five smaller English vessels, and captured two of them. Later in the war the former captain, while in command of the frigate *L'Aigle*, was taken, with his vessel, under circumstances not very creditable to him. But he lived to attain the rank of vice-admiral in the French navy. After the war *La Pérouse* was sent out by the French Government on a voyage of discovery. His two vessels made extensive explorations for three years, when they suddenly disappeared, and their fate has never been determined.

† Clowes' *History of the Royal Navy*, IV (1899), p. 74. The captain of the English vessel was Andrew Snape Douglas, and of the French vessel, *de La Bouchetière*. The ship fired a broadside of 534 pounds to the frigate's 174, and carried 170 more men.

and was plainly visible to the people who gathered to watch it from the tops of houses and the heights in the town, the stories of the affair are both meagre and conflicting.* In the local accounts the name of the British vessel is incorrectly given, which, perhaps, is not surprising. De Noailles says that the ship was the *Chatham*, and in this he is borne out by the latest English authority. He also says that the *Marquis de Kergariou* pursued the British, attacked the *Chatham*, and made a clean sweep of the waters around Boston, for which service the merchants of the town gave him a "splendid dinner," at which a number of healths were drunk "to the noise of salvos of cannon according to the custom of the country." Whether Kergariou did all this alone may be questioned, for his command (the *Engageante*) did not arrive in Boston until September 6th. The *Gazette* of September 3rd says that the French vessels which went after the English ship were the *Astrée* and the *Sagittaire*. Kergariou may have joined and cruised with them, and we know that on October 4th the merchants of Boston gave an entertainment in Faneuil Hall

* Breck says (*Recollections*, pp. 44, 45) that both ships were close to the lighthouse, that he ran to the top of Beacon Hill to witness the fight, and that it was not until four in the afternoon, and when captor and captured were out of sight, that the other French vessels started in pursuit,—the battle having taken place early in the morning. But he had forgotten the year when the fight took place and is uncertain about the vessels. That his *Recollections* are not always correct is evidenced by the fact that he confuses Bougainville with Raimondis as the officer who lost an arm on the *César* in August, 1778.

to "the Commodore" and officers of the French marine in the harbor and to M. L'Etombe, the then recently appointed Consul-General of France for the four easternmost States of America. The party, numbering about one hundred and fifty, met at the Coffee House and Bunch of Grapes Tavern and went in procession to the Hall, where they dined at three tables. The *Gazette* of the 8th of October has a list of seventeen toasts which were given after the dinner, "at the interval of 5 minutes and accompanied with a discharge of Cannon." One might wonder what would be the effect of so many healths at such short intervals, but the account states that "notwithstanding the largeness of the Company, the most perfect Order and Decorum was preserved thro' the whole."

The toasts were as follows : —

1. Congress and the United States of America.
2. His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France,
3. His Most Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain.
4. Their High Mightinesses, the States General.
5. His Excellency, the Governor, and Commonwealth of Mass.
6. His Excellency, Gen'l Washington, and the Army.
7. The American Ambassadors at Foreign Courts.
8. His Excellency, the Chevalier de La Luzerne, Minister of France.
9. His Excellency, Count de Rochambeau, and the French Army.
10. His Excellency, Count de Grasse, and the French Navy.
11. His Excellency, Count de Barras.

12. May the Brave Remains of the American Navy Rise Superior to their Numerous Enemies.
13. The Honorable Consul General for the Eastern Department.
14. The Commodore and Officers of the King's Ships in this Harbor.
15. May the Union between France and America be as Lasting as Time.
16. The Immortal Memory of Those Who Have Bravely Fallen in Defending the Rights of America.
17. May America be as Successful in her Commerce as she is Happy in her Allies.*

The news that Cornwallis was taken had reached Boston when Lafayette returned in December, 1781. The reception of the Marquis was a veritable ovation, and well it might be, for the aid of France, for which he was so largely responsible, had proven its worth.† And upon the birth of the Dauphin, a few months later, the American people had an opportunity to express their gratitude to the French king. The event had been celebrated by the American army on the 31st of May. Hancock waited until he received "Official Annunciation" of the birth, and then (June 3, 1782), informed the General Court, concluding that he would concur in any measure which the members might think proper

* The evening before, Hancock had invited the Consul, the Commodore and his officers and some "Gentlemen and Ladies of Distinction" to a supper, before which "the Company within and the Spectators without" were entertained with fireworks "exhibited on the Green before His Excellency's House."

† Lafayette sailed from Boston December 23, again on the Alliance.

“for expressing in some public manner our Common Joy upon this Auspicious Occasion.” The Court sent back word that while they shared in the Governor’s “lively joy,” they would like his views as to how it could best be expressed “in a public manner.” To this Hancock replied that he felt himself “under peculiar Difficulties,” inasmuch as he and his Council might “either fall short of or exceed” the Court’s expectations, and he accordingly left it to the Court to select the mode of celebration “most agreeable to the Occasion.” After considering the merits of a public dinner, the Court finally decided that “a decent Collation” at the public expense would be more suitable, to be held in the Senate Chamber, attended by the Governor and Council, both branches of the Assembly and “such Gentlemen of Rank” as his Excellency might invite, and accompanied with “such Firings as are usual in Similar Occasions.”

The celebration took place Wednesday, June 12, 1782, and the newspaper account says:—

The morning was introduced by ringing the bells of the several churches, and discharging the cannon from the castle and ships in the harbour. At noon a collation was provided in the Senate chamber, when the doors were open, and the Rulers of the Commonwealth, together with a crowd of citizens convened to unite their tokens of joy. A number of toasts were given adapted to the purpose, and the whole assembly notified their happiness on the bright occasion.

At evening the house of his Excellency and other gentlemen of character were most elegantly illuminated, and a number of rockets, wheels, beehives, and other fire works displayed in the common; while the French, Continental and State ships (some of which were beautifully hung with lanthorns) fired in the channel. Indeed every order of men, in its own way, shouted benediction to the Dauphin, which is a compliment not only upon the patriotism, but the good sense of the people, who did well to consider what importance (in an hereditary kingdom) is the Dauphin; who not only from his infancy may be educated for the throne; but (life preserved) may save immense bloodshed, which so often happens where the right of a crown is disputed. This alone is a reason why even republicans, as far as they are friends of mankind, may rejoice when an heir to a great empire is born.*

Upon the surrender of de Grasse to Lord Rodney the command of the French fleet in the West Indies fell to Commodore, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had been the flag officer of the rear division of the French in the battle. Vaudreuil rallied his ships at Cape Francis (now Cape Haitien) and on the 4th of July with thirteen ships of the line, three frigates, a cutter and two American brigs, sailed for North America to refit. Arriving at the mouth of the Chesapeake, he detached a frigate on the 26th of July with a message to Rochambeau, informing the Count that the fleet was on its way to Boston and,

* *Boston Gazette*, June 17, 1782, and a similar account may be found in the *Independent Ledger* of the same date.

receiving the Count's reply, headed north once more, and reached Boston on the 9th of August, 1782.

Of the fleet which now assembled in the harbor at least four carried eighty or more guns, the other liners being seventy-fours.* Some came to anchor at Nantasket, some in King's Road, and two came up near the town.† One of the latter was the flagship *Triomphant*, and Breck says that she was placed directly opposite Long Wharf and hove down by means of two brigs stationed on her starboard side. He says he played around her in a sail boat when she was in that position, and that from the shore her exposed copper bottom looked like "a green island." The other vessel which moored in the inner harbor seems to have been the *Couronne*.

As was the case with d'Estaing, Vaudreuil had not been long in the harbor when it was feared that his fleet might be attacked by the British, and the fortifications at the harbor's entrance once more assumed importance. This time, however, the State furnished the men to do the work. Vaudreuil had informed Rochambeau that

* The fleet was made up, according to de Noailles (p. 289, note) as follows: The *Triomphant* 80, *Couronne* 84 (at p. 406 he says 80), *Auguste* 80, *Duc de Bourgogne* 80, *Neptune* 80 (at p. 406 he says 74), and the *Northumberland*, *Magnifique*, *Souverain*, *Brave*, *Pluton*, *Hercule*, *Bourgogne*, and *Citoyen* 74; the frigates *Néréide* and *Amazone* 36, the *Iris* 32, a 14 gun cutter and two 16 gun brigs.

† *Deacon Tudor's Diary* (Boston, 1896) p. 94. He mentions however only ten "large" ships. But the newspapers give a list of thirteen ships of the line, corresponding with the French accounts.

he was short of artillery and grenadiers and, anticipating the wants of the French Commodore, Washington wrote Hancock to be prepared to furnish him with such militia as he might call for. When on September 7th Vaudreuil urged the Governor to assist him in defending "the passages to Boston" Hancock at once complied. In his request Vaudreuil stated that he had established batteries on Nantasket peninsular and on the bordering islands, but that his engineers and artillery officers thought it necessary to throw up other works to protect his flanks, and he asked for intrenching tools and materials, and for 250 men.*

These men were stationed at Hull, and as no provision was made for their keep they were supplied out of the French commissary. October 21st Vaudreuil wrote Sam Adams, acknowledging the help the Commonwealth had rendered him and advising the Senate that as it did not seem likely any movement would be made by the enemy, he had concluded to suspend work on the forts. Whereupon the militia were withdrawn and arrangements made to reimburse the French. Probably little more was done at this time than to repair and strengthen the existing defences.†

* Mass. Archives, Doc. CCIV, p. 261. The State accounts mention 230 militia, but Vaudreuil always referred to the force as "workmen."

† Cf. de Noailles, p. 324. "Put in repair through the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil," said a French officer, speaking of the works on the islands. (Letter to L'Étombe, the French Consul, Dec. 28, 1782; Mass. Archives, CLXXII, p. 266.) "Put in repair and augmented by

The vessels of Vaudreuil's fleet were new to Boston, and in the list of principal officers there is but one name which recalls the four years previous, that of d'Albert de Rions, who with new laurels now returned in command of the seventy-four *Pluton*, a ship which he had nobly handled under the unfortunate Count de Grasse.* But all of Vaudreuil's ships-of-the-line had participated in the Battle of the Saints, for the most part under the captains who brought them to Boston. De Grasse particularly recommended the Marquis for his work in the battle, and Charitte, of the *Bourgogne*, and MacCarthy Martaigue,† of the *Magnifique*, won praise for their actions. The *Couronne* was gallantly fought by her commander, the Count Mithon de Genouilly; and the new captain of the *Auguste*,‡ the Count Vaudreuil,

Marquis Vaudreuil," wrote L'Étombe to the Court in March, 1783, referring to the works on Gallup's Island and Nantasket peninsular. (Mass. Archives, CCXXXIX, p. 136.) These letters called attention to the thefts from the fortifications which took place after the departure of the fleet. Indeed, the French seemed to have felt a peculiar interest in the works "erected by the Count d'Estaing."

* Captain Mahan points out that although the *Pluton* was the extreme rear ship of the French line in the Count's last battle, she nevertheless had reached a position near the commander-in-chief before he struck. (*Influence of Sea Power*, p. 502.)

† This man's name is written so many ways in the accounts that it is hard to say what is the correct spelling. I have adopted the form used by Lacour-Gayet, the most recent authority.

‡ The commander of the *Auguste* in the battle was Bougainville, whom de Grasse seriously, but unwisely, blamed for the defeat of the French. The other new commanders with Vaudreuil were Puget-Bras on the *Hercule*, and de Medine on the *Northumberland*. In the battle the latter had commanded the *Réfléchi*, and the Count Vaudreuil the *Septre*. Neither of the vessels last mentioned came to Boston.

brother of the commander-in-chief, had been in the thick of it on another vessel, when de Grasse went down to defeat.

Vaudreuil stayed a long time at Boston awaiting the arrival of Rochambeau's victorious army, and during his sojourn he was joined at intervals by other vessels until, at his departure in December, the fleet under his command, as given by de Noailles, numbered thirteen liners and nine frigates. Among the new-comers was Suffren's old sixty-four, the *Fantasque*, which had been disarmed at Brest in November, 1779, and turned into a transport, and was now used as a hospital ship. She was in such a state of dilapidation as to be unable to leave with the rest of the fleet, and was left at Providence, R. I. Whether she ever got as far as Boston is questionable.*

Almost as soon as Vaudreuil arrived, the authorities greeted him and his officers at a public dinner, held Wednesday, August 21, 1782, the Council stipulating "that Mr. Marston be contracted with to provide for the Entertainment."† When the French army reached

* The following interesting advertisement appeared in September (1782) issues of some of the Boston newspapers :

"The Ship of the Line *FANTASQUE* belonging to his Most Christian Majesty at this Time unnecessary for his Service is to be Let with her Appurtenances, Rigging and Tackling, as she now lies in the River of Providence. The Consul General of France, residing in Boston, will receive any reasonable Proposition on that head."

† The dinner was held at Faneuil Hall and attended by "more than 250 persons," and the whole celebration seems to have been a pretty noisy affair. Coming up the harbor the guests were saluted from the

Boston, four months later, the vote in respect of the dinner to the staff and field officers, which the Council unanimously agreed "was not only expedient but necessary," was even more explicit, viz.: that it be held "at Colonel Marston's at the Bunch of Grapes in State Street." *

The merchants presented Vaudreuil with an address to which he graciously replied. There were dinners on the Triumphant, and Duc de Bourgogne and Vaudreuil won the praise of the community by sending ashore three engines and two hundred men when a fire occurred at a "Brew-House" in the north part of the town. Only one incident occurred to mar the joy of the celebrations, and that took place at an early date and was happily mended. On entering or moving about in the harbor the seventy-four *Magnifique*, in charge of a Boston pilot, was run upon the western end of Lovell's Island, at a place since sometimes called Man of War Bar, where she remained fast and became a total loss, though her crew and stores were saved. †

At the time there was building at Portsmouth, N. H., the seventy-four gun ship *America*, authorized in No-

Castle and from Fort Hill. Received by Governor and Council in the Senate Chamber they "proceeded to the Hall through a croud of spectators" where they were again saluted. And after the dinner there were the usual toasts with more "discharge of cannon." *Independent Chronicle*, Aug. 26th, 1782.

* Wednesday, December 11th, 1782.

† Tudor enters the event in his *Diary* under date of August 14. The same vessel had very nearly sunk off Savannah in 1779, being saved only by the most prodigious efforts.

vember, 1776, the first seventy-four constructed for the United States Navy, and on September 3d, 1782, Congress presented her to Louis XVI to replace the *Magifique*. The principal sufferer in the transaction was John Paul Jones, to whom Congress had voted the command of the vessel June 26, 1781, and who had superintended her construction off and on from that time. Just before the gift to the French King, Jones had celebrated on the ship the birth of the Dauphin and the Declaration of Independence, supplying the guns and powder for the former occasion at his own expense. He was somewhat put out that nothing was said of him when the presentation was made,* and on November 29th he requested leave of Congress to join the French squadron. The request was readily granted, and Jones was commended for his zeal and recommended to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. He came to Boston, was received by Vaudreuil with distinction, and left on the *Triomphant*.

The *America* was launched November 5, 1782, and turned over by Jones to McCarthy Martaigue, who had commanded the lost liner. A few of the French ships—including the *Pluton* and the *Auguste*—appear to have been at Portsmouth on the occasion, and to have remained there for some little time; but it was several months before the new vessel was ready for sea and she did not leave with the fleet. The reader will

* See his letter to Robert Morris [October 10, 1783], in *John Paul Jones Commemoration* (Washington, 1907) at pp. 162, 163.

doubtless be surprised to learn from Lacour-Gayet that although built with great care, the first American seventy-four at the end of but four years' service was in such condition "because of the poor quality of her wood" that the French Minister of Marine decided to demolish the ship and to replace her with another seventy-four of the same name.* Some say, however, that she was captured by the British off Toulon, June 1, 1794.†

The pilot of the *Magnifique* afterwards became the sexton of the New North Church, and the story is a familiar one that he more than once found this couplet chalked on the meeting-house door :

Don't you run this ship ashore
As you did the seventy-four.

The French troops reached Boston early in December, 1782, and the town witnessed a real military pageant, sufficiently described by Drake in his "Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston." The troops in-

* *La Marine Militaire sous Louis XVI*, p. 417, note; Cf. Breck, *Recollections*, p. 46. "She was built of common oak, had been long on the stocks, and I think I heard it said that she never went to sea after her arrival at Brest."

† See Walter H. Fentress, *Centennial History, Portsmouth Navy Yard* (1875), pp. 27-29; Emmons, *Statistical History, U. S. Navy*, p. 4. But Preble says this is a mistake, and that the ship captured in Lord Howe's engagement was a new ship launched a short time previous. Capt. George Henry Preble in *N. E. Hist. and Gen'l Reg.* XXII, 393, at pp. 397, 398. Although an unusually large vessel, Preble says that on account of her peculiar lines the *America*, with lower decks closed, presented the appearance "of a delicate frigate." And he quotes a description of her as given by John Paul Jones. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

cluded the bulk of the force that Rochambeau had led to victory in the struggle for the independence of the English colonies, and they were the flower of the French army. The commander-in-chief had parted with his men at Providence, leaving it to Baron de Vioménil to accept the plaudits of the enthusiastic Bostonians. Reviews, receptions, dinners and balls were the order of the day, and the Baron was given an address of welcome. For the French soldiers, however, the fighting was not over. France had need of them elsewhere, and they were embarked on the ships as soon as possible.*

Under date of December 24th, Heath wrote in his Memoirs, "His most Christian Majesty's fleet under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil came to sail in King and Nantasket Roads, and went out to sea having the army under the command of General Vioménil on board."† And so ended a most interesting chapter in the History of Boston.

* For the disposition of the troops on the various ships see de Noailles, pp. 407-409. The troops which were to have gone on the *Fantasque* were afterwards taken by the *America*.

† Stone says (*Our French Allies*, p. 530) that the *Auguste* and *Pluton* with the frigates *Amazone* and *Clairvoyant* sailed from Portsmouth, N. H.

NOTES

A

THE FLEET UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE MARQUIS
DE VAUDREUIL AT THE TIME OF HIS
DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON.

(De Noailles, Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique, p. 406).

Ships :

Le Triomphant	80 guns	de Montcabrier
✓ L'Auguste	80 "	Comte de Vaudreuil
Le Brave	74 "	Comte d'Amblimont
Le Souverain	74 "	Commandeur de Glandevès
La Couronne	80 "	Comte de Mithon de Gen- ouilly
✓ Le Pluton	74 "	d'Albert de Rions
Le Duc-de-Burgogne	80 "	de Coriolis d'Espinouse
Le Neptune	74 "	Renaud d'Aleins
Le Citoyen	74 "	Chevalier d'Ethy
✓ La Bourgogne	74 "	Chevalier de Charitte
Le Northumberland	74 "	Chevalier de Médine
L'Hercule	74 "	Chevalier du Puget-Bras
Le Fantasque		de Vaudoré

Frigates :

La Néréide	40	"	Froger de l'Éguille
L'Amazone	36	"	de Gaston
L'Isle-de-France			Elyot
Le Clairvoyant			d'Aché
La Reine-de-France			
L'Allégeance			
Le Shirley			
Le Warwick			
La Prudence			

B

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FORTIFICATIONS IN
BOSTON HARBOR, 1777.

(*Massachusetts Archives — Documents, Vol. 137, p. 142*).

State of Massachusetts-Bay

In the House of Representatives, Janry 31st 1777.

The Comtee of Fortification, appointed by a Resolve of the General Court of the 15th Inst, to make report, to this Court, of the present State of the Fortifications & other works of Defence in & near the Harbour of Boston, & what they judge further necessary to be immediately done in order to put said Harbour into a better state of Defence — And also to Report what number of Men & Guns they apprehend necessary to defend the Same; & Report a General Plan of Defence in Case of an Attac; REPORT

Hull

That at Hull, is a Pentagonal Fort, well constructed, & nearly finished; within the Fort is a very good Well; a good Ditch on the outside, friezed on the Berme, but the Glacis not finished; in the Fort is wanted a Blind, a Magazine, a Guard-House & two

Barracks ; on the outside is wanted a Bridge, Covered-Way & Place of Arms ; & the Fort has 16 Embrasures. There are also two Batteries well constructed, open to the Fort, but well defended against the Channel ; one of these has 5 Embrasures, but wants another to be added, to rake Stony-Beach ; the other has 8 Embrasures. At Hull, is a good Hospital, distant on the outside of the Fort, with a Guard-House, & Barracks sufficient for 6 or 700 Men besides barracking in old Houses &c. — Besides these works, there ought to be a Redoubt on the Western Hill, containing room enough for about 100 Men, & 5 or 6 Field-Pieces in it — and there also ought to be a Battery, on Point-Alderton, of 3 or 4 heavy Canon, open to point-alder-ton Hill, upon which there ought to be a Block-House with Barrack-room enough for 150 Men, and 8 Field-Pieces in its top, with a good Breaft-Work. And perhaps there ought to be at Hull another Battery, or one of these enlarged, which may preclude the necessity of heavy Cannon in the Fort.

Quere :
Whether
Strawberry-
Hill Should be
fortified? and
the Great
Brewster?

That on Pettick's-Island, upon the great Hill, there ought to be a Redoubt with 6 or 8 pieces in it & Barracking enough for 150 Men: And this Should command a Battery, on the East-Head, of 4 or 5 Pieces of heavy Cannon.

Pettick's Isl'd

That on Hoff's Neck, on the Main, there ought to be a Redoubt with Barrackage enough for 100 Men ; the Breaft-work to have four or 5 Embrasures for 12 Pounders to keep open the Communication between the Main & Pettick's-Island.

Hoff's-Neck

That the Channel on the back of George's-Island ought to have Some Hulks sunk therein, so as to prevent any large Ships passing that way ; this will necessarily oblige such Ships, in passing in or out, to come $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile nearer to the Batteries at Hull, & to continue much longer under their Guns ; and this will also bring them near to the proposed Battery on the East head of Pettick's Isl'd.

Channel on
the Back of
George's
Island

- Long-Island That at Long-Island there is a Fort laid out, but far from being finished; designed for 30 Guns; to have 2 Ravelins, & one Battery, for outworks— Besides these, there ought to be a Redoubt on the great Hill, with Barracks for 150 Men, & 8 or 12 Guns in a good Breastwork. There are 3 Barracks erected, & 2 or 3 more will be wanted, with a Guard-House & Magazine.
- Moon-Island That on Moon-Island there ought to be a Redoubt with Barracks for 100 Men, with 5 or 6 Ps of 12 Pounders, to keep open the communication between this & Long Island: To this ought to be added, a Small Redoubt upon Squantum (on the Main) with 4 or 5 Six Pounders to keep up the communication between the Main & Moon-Island.
- Point Shirley That a small work at Point-Shirley is already erected, at which place are old buildings enough for 100, or 150 men: 5 or 6 Ps of Cannon, with 2 or 3 Field Ps; will be Sufficient for this Post.
- Castle-Island That at Castle-Island, much is done towards putting it into a good State of Defence, & much more is still necessary; when the Plan is finished, there will be about [42] Embrasures; & 16 are already opened; there are 4 Barracks finished, & 4 more will be needed.
- Governor's Island That at Governors-Island, there is a Block-House with a Breastwork; & Barrackage for about 100 Men; & 1 Embrasure in the Breastwork; and the work is all finished.
- Dorchester-Point That at Dorchester-Point is a well finished Fort, of the Star-kind, with 13 Embrasures; a Guard-House within, & Barracks enough near at hand, on the outside. At Dorchester-Heights are two Small Forts, with 11 Embrasures in one of 'em, and 9 in the other; These want one or two Ravelins. And at a Hill between [the] Heights & Point, there ought to be a Redoubt &c. There are Barracks enough for all.
- Dorchester Heights and Hill

A Small Battery is already at Fox-Hill ; and another Battery ought to be between that & the Fort at the Point.

That at Noddles-Island, is a Quadrangular Fort, well finished, & Barracks enough for about 400 Men on the outside: This fort has 19 Embrasures. This wants one or two Ravelins to make it more defensible.

That at Boston is a Quadrangular Fort, well finished; but the Comtee are of opinion, that if the Stockading was taken up, & the Berme Friezed, it would be much better. In this Fort are 19 embrasures.

And that at Charlestown point is an irregular Fort, with 9 Embrasures. At Bunkers Hill is an irregular work with 7 Embrasures. And Barrackage enough for about 300 Men.

Names of Places	32, 36 and 42 Pounders	24 and 33 Pounders	18 Pounders	9 and 12 Pounders	6 Pounders	2, 3 and 4 Pounders	Numbers of men in time of Action	Number of men at other times, in war
Hull.....	6	20	9	21	6	24	1500	750
Petticks Isl'd ..	..	..	5	..	8	..	150	75
Hoff's Neck ..	..	..	4	..	..	..	100	10
Georges Isl'd ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Long Isl'd ..	..	30	..	8	..	..	750	300
Moon Isl'd ..	..	..	..	6	..	..	150	10
Squantum ..	..	..	..	..	6	..	100	10
Deer Isl'd ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Castle Isl'd ..	14	28	..	..	..	..	1000	400
Govrs Isl'd ..	..	..	1	..	..	8	100	10
Dorchr Point ..	3	..	10	..	..	..	150	10
Dorr Heights & Hill ..	..	..	..	..	28	6	300	30
Dorchester Batt ..	..	6	..	..	..	..	100	10
Noddles Isl'd ..	..	6	14	..	8	6	500	50
Boston ..	..	20	..	..	..	8	500	50
Charlestown ..	..	..	..	16	..	..	200	30
	23	110	43	51	56	52	5600	1745

To this must also be added, what is absolutely necessary, a Sufficient number of Boats, especially at Hull, for carrying the Troops &c, on or off, as occasion may require.

The Comtee further report, as their opinion, That there ought to be some experienced Person appointed to the Special command of these Fortifications, whose duty Should be pointed out as plain as possible, & should be particularly directed to visit frequently all these works & report to the Board of War (or Such others as he may be directed to report to) all Such matters under his inspection, as he may Judge will promote the Service: This Officer ought to be such as the Militia, when called in, will chearfully Serve under; and being Supposed to have made himself well acquainted with all the Works, & obtained a competent knowledge of the weaknesses thereof, as well as the best mode of defence for every part, he ought not to be superceded without a manifest reason, especially in time of action; to which Should be added an arrangement of Command. Supposing an Attac from the Sea, *Hull* must be particularly attended to, with the works near it; further up the Harbor, few men would be suddenly wanted; for as *Hull* lies most exposed, there and near it, must always be a good Garrison to prevent a Surprise; but upon an alarm, all the other Forts further up the harbor, will be filled with Men before an enemy can force his Passage; and no Officer of the Enemy, who knows his duty, will ever venture to force his passage into this Harbor, until he has made himself Master of Nantaskett (supposing it (the harbor) to be fortified as aforesaid) for there would not be any chance for his Safety. An Attac on the Land-side, could not take place without a general Alarm, which would soon fill the Forts &c with as many Men as there would be occasion for: In this case, Dorchester-Heights, Charlestown & Boston, would demand the Commanders more particular attention. As the mode & place of Attac will admit of a great variety of Plans,

fo the defence muſt alſo vary: & this Shews the difficulty of Reporting any thing further than a General Plan. In doing this, the Com^{tee} found themſelves under a kind of neceſſity to take notice of the *Command*, which they would not have done (not being explicitly in their Commiſſion) had not difficulties upon that head, been very apparent; & it being almoſt impoſſible to contemplate a General plan of Defence, without conſidering, at the ſame time, the *mode of Command*: This the Com^{tee} plead in excuſe.

The Com^{tee} having had long Service, & ſome of it very fatiguing, aſk leave to reſign; & they humbly propoſe that a Com^{tee} be appointed to ſettle their accounts, pay off the outſtanding debts (when aſcertained by the preſent Com^{tee}) & direct what is further to be done reſpecting the fortifications of the Harbor of Boſton.

J. PALMER, P^r ord^r.

In Council Feb^y 4, 1777

Read & Sent down

JN^o. AVERY, Dpy Secy



**THE FRENCH AT BOSTON DURING
THE REVOLUTION**

BY

FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.







LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 801 242 2

